

The Electronic Monitoring of Offenders: ethics, policy and technology

CEP May 2009

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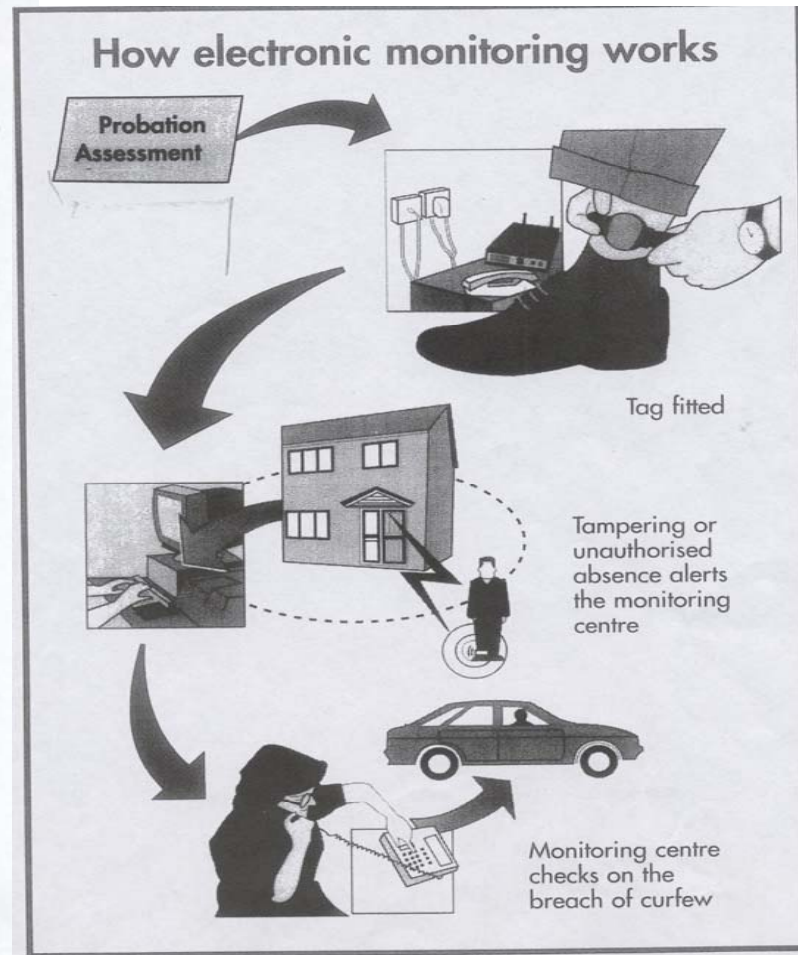
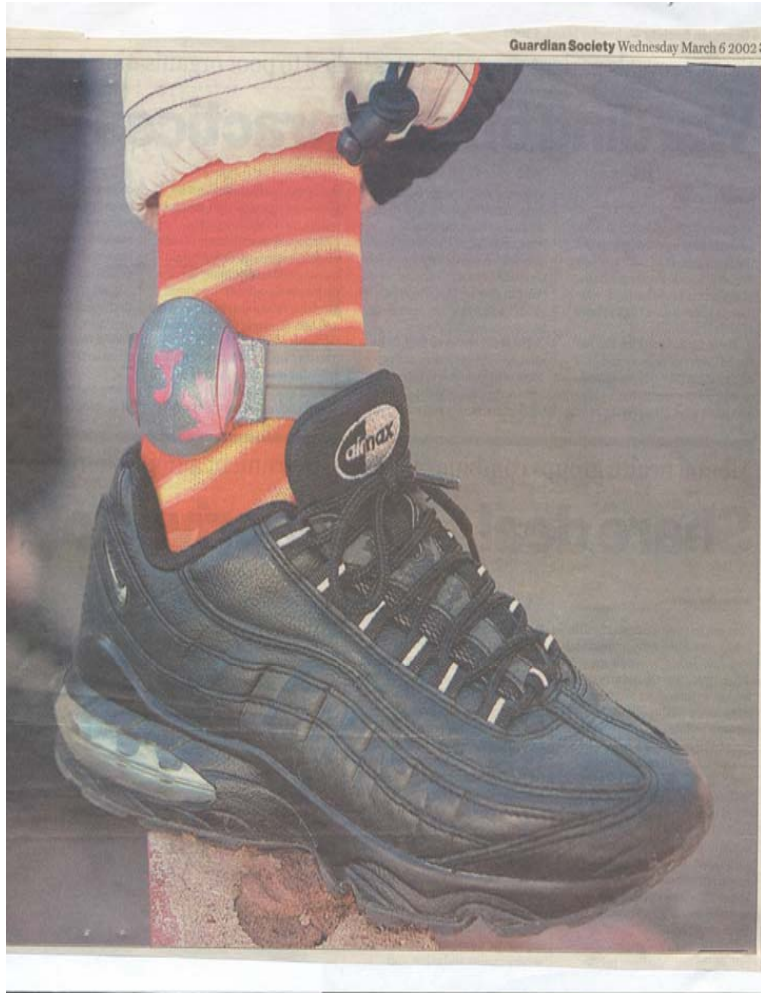
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Aims

- To show we have come a long way
- To remember the origins of EM
- To suggest ways of conceptualising/
thinking about EM as a penal
measure NOW
- To link EM and Probation
- To consider the Future(s) of EM

The Electronic Tag





EM is no longer one “technological practice” - five/six types (to date)

- Curfew / restriction to a place
- Voice Verification
- Remote Alcohol Monitoring
- GPS Satellite Tracking
- Inmate Tracking System
- Victim protection?

The Origins of EM

- “Tracking movement” was imagined and preferred to “curfew/ house arrest”
- “Telecare” - monitoring life signs of the old and ill was conceived simultaneously
- For offenders, EM was considered a rehabilitative device - a control, but not a punishment
- “The use of such a system of [electronic surveillance] actually extends the rights of parolees by allowing them to live with their families and keep their jobs when they would otherwise have been incarcerated. Society is also more surely protected against additional offences than if the parolee is released without extensive surveillance.” *when was this said?*

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1964

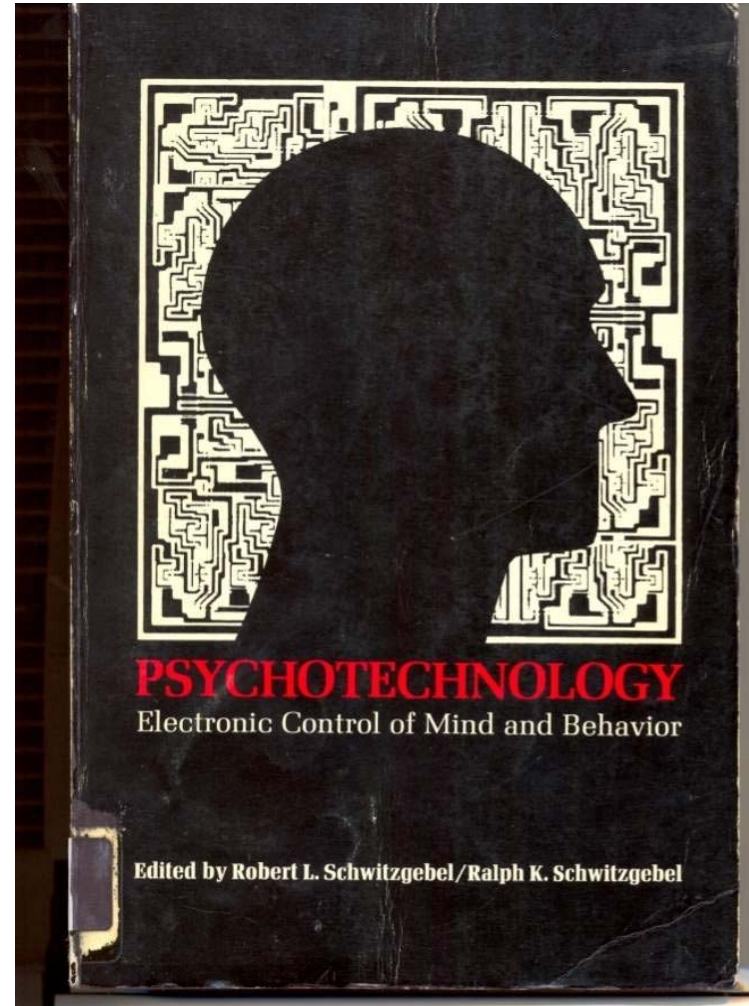
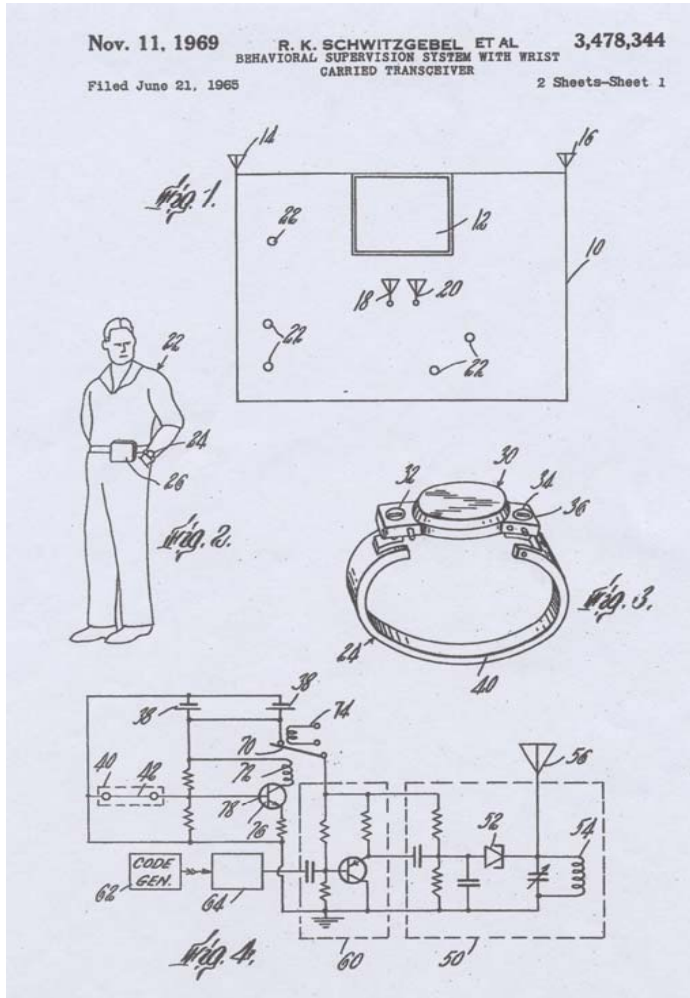
- “When specific offending behaviours can be accurately predicted and/or controlled within the offender’s own environment, incarceration will no longer be necessary as a means of controlling behavior and protecting society”
- Ralph Schwitzgebel (1964) A Programme of Research in Behavioral Electronics. Behavioral Science 9(3)

Robert and Ralph Gable 2007

(previously Schwitzgebel's, Harvard 1960s)

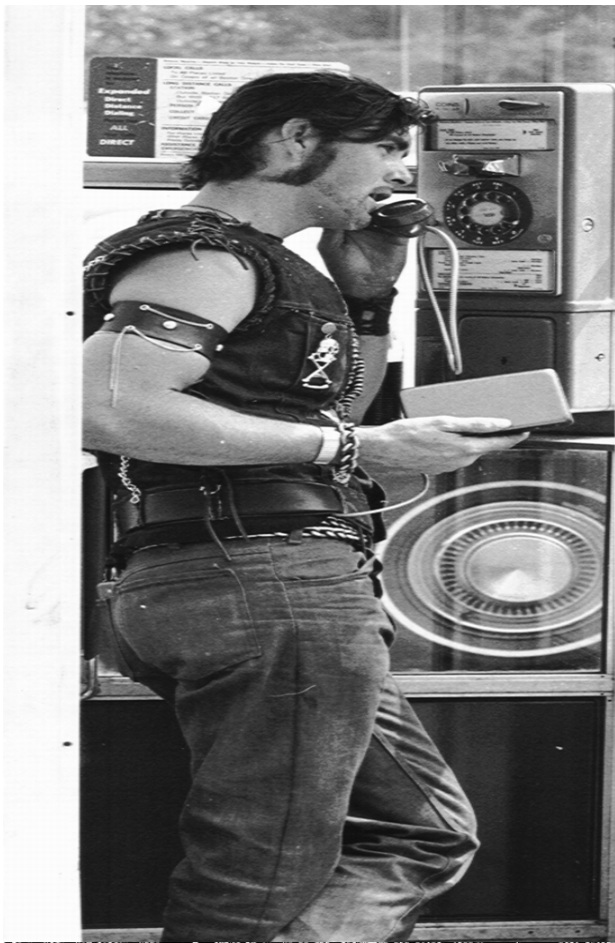


Patent 1969; "Psychotechnology" 1973





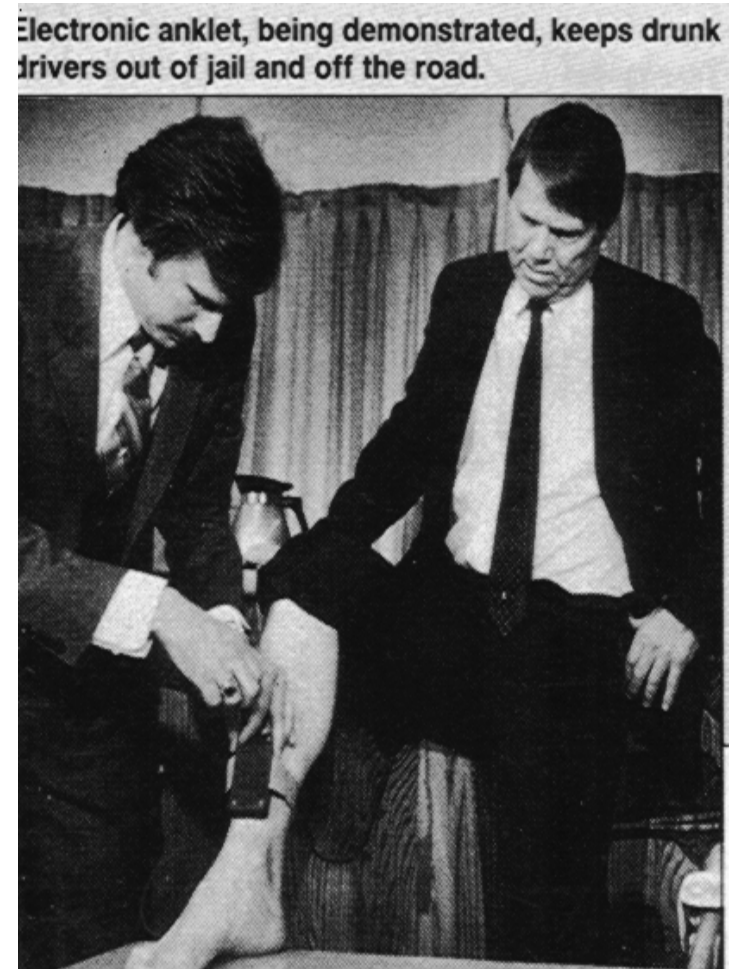
The Schwitzgebel Machine 1969



Electronic monitoring system, Cambridge, MA.
© R. Gable
July 1969



Judge Jack Love, Albuquerque, New Mexico. 1977 - 1982/3



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- EM -
a tool to
reduce
pressure
on prisons
during
1990s



Break this prison routine

AS MPs on the Commons Home Affairs select committee have recognised, it is madness to lock up more and more people for longer periods of time at enormous cost to the taxpayer and then release them unprepared for life back in the community. The number of people in prison per year and each costs £24,000 a year to keep there. Yet it is a myth that locking people up dramatically cuts crime. A Home Office study published this summer found it would be necessary to increase the number of prisoners by 25 per cent — or more than 15,000 inmates — simply to cut crime by one per cent.

The MPs discovered that despite the popular view that the public wants tough sentences, the length of time people think someone deserves for a particular crime is actually significantly lower than that handed down. Their call for a greater emphasis on community sentences, if necessary combined with electronic tagging, is welcome. Prison is an expensive and ineffective answer and it is time politicians acknowledged as much.

THE NEWSPAPER FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM

EXPRESS

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 8, 1998 35p

BATTLE FOR MAN. UNITED

es to give away so 10,000 readers can have
ature of Britain's most famous club. PAGES 6 & 7

TAGGING IS BETTER THAN JAIL SAY MPs

Report warns prison no longer works

TOUGHER sentences to punish criminals without sending them to prison, including widespread use of electronic tagging, will be recommended by an influential group of MPs this week.

Prison costs us £1.8 billion a year but too often fails to persuade criminals to go straight, a report by the Commons home affairs select committee will say.

But while statistics show three-quarters of young men released from jail in 1994 were convicted again within two years, Britain's prison population is growing faster than

EXCLUSIVE BY DAVID TAYLOR

anywhere else in the European Union. The all-party group of MPs will blame magistrates and judges for passing sentences which do not even include a visit to a probation centre. It will accuse them of trying to "second guess" public opinion by jailing people for lesser crimes and for longer terms.

"We are pursuing a policy that nobody really believes in, which is incredibly expensive, doesn't work and nobody really wants," a committee source said. "Judges respond to the public debate

about law and order by being even tougher even though they know in their hearts that what they are doing doesn't work." The prison population in England and Wales had risen to 65,400 by March, up more than 14,000 since 1995.

The number of people jailed for drugs offences has more than doubled in the past decade, and burglars account for 17 per cent of the prison population. Each prisoner costs around £24,000 a year, but many could serve their sentences in the community, cost us less and with less chance of re-offending. The average

TURN TO PAGE 4, COLUMN 4



Tag the criminals say MPs

FROM PAGE ONE

cost of a probation order is £2,230 and a community service order £1,570. The committee's report on alternatives to prison sentences, to be published on Thursday, will call for a national register of the most effective community supervision programmes.

Home Office Ministers have a role to play in promoting community service, both as a genuinely demanding punishment and as a benefit to society at large. The report suggests community service sentences could be renamed "work orders" to underline the fact that they are punishments.

"The whole way community service is regarded has to be changed," a committee member said. "If you go along to some community service programmes, they are far worse punishments for some people than very short jail sentences. But the problem is, the



STRAW: Likely to back many of the proposals

public regards anything to do with probation as soft." Home Secretary Jack Straw is likely to support many of the recommendations. He has distanced himself from the "prison works" rhetoric of his predecessor Michael Howard.

Prisons Minister Lord Williams of Mostyn has already proposed renaming probation service to give it more of a tough image — ideas include the Public Protection Service or the Community Justice

Enforcement Agency. The committee felt there were many successful projects in the community which magistrates and probation officers could refer victims, pay compensation or take part in treatment programmes to deal with violent behaviour or alcohol and drug abuse.

A majority of members felt electronic tagging should be encouraged for a wider range of cases. Football hooligans and people convicted of drink-driving offences around closing times could be kept away from town

Nick Flynn, director of the Prison Reform Trust, said: "The public should be commended that a quick-fix solution to law and order we are going to tag people. The greater number must not be done in violence. It has to be intensive work on management."

OPINION: PAGE 1

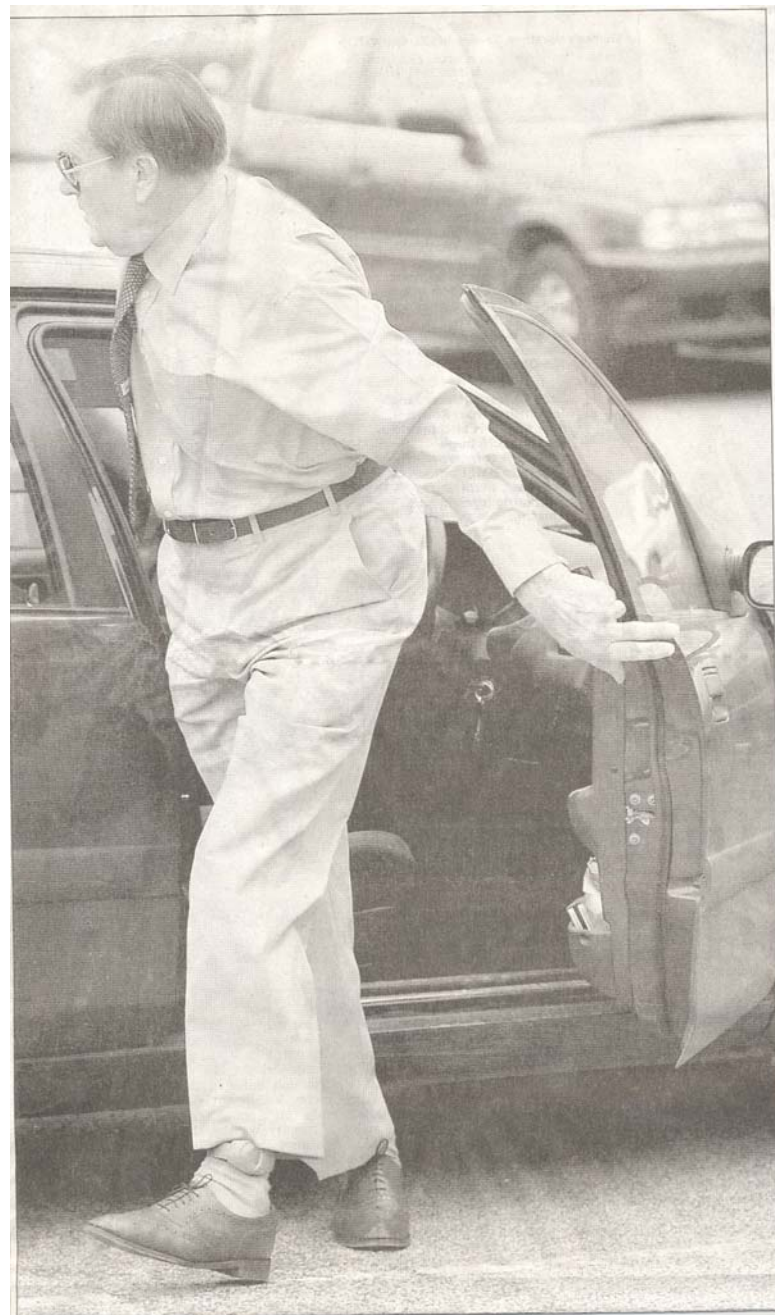


EM - an ideal form of community supervision?

EM permits many ordinary routines of daily life to continue

Tougher than probation(!?)

It prohibits, but does not inhibit



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At party venue
Polaroid Beach
House, Lohan
wore a bikini—
and her alcohol
monitor.

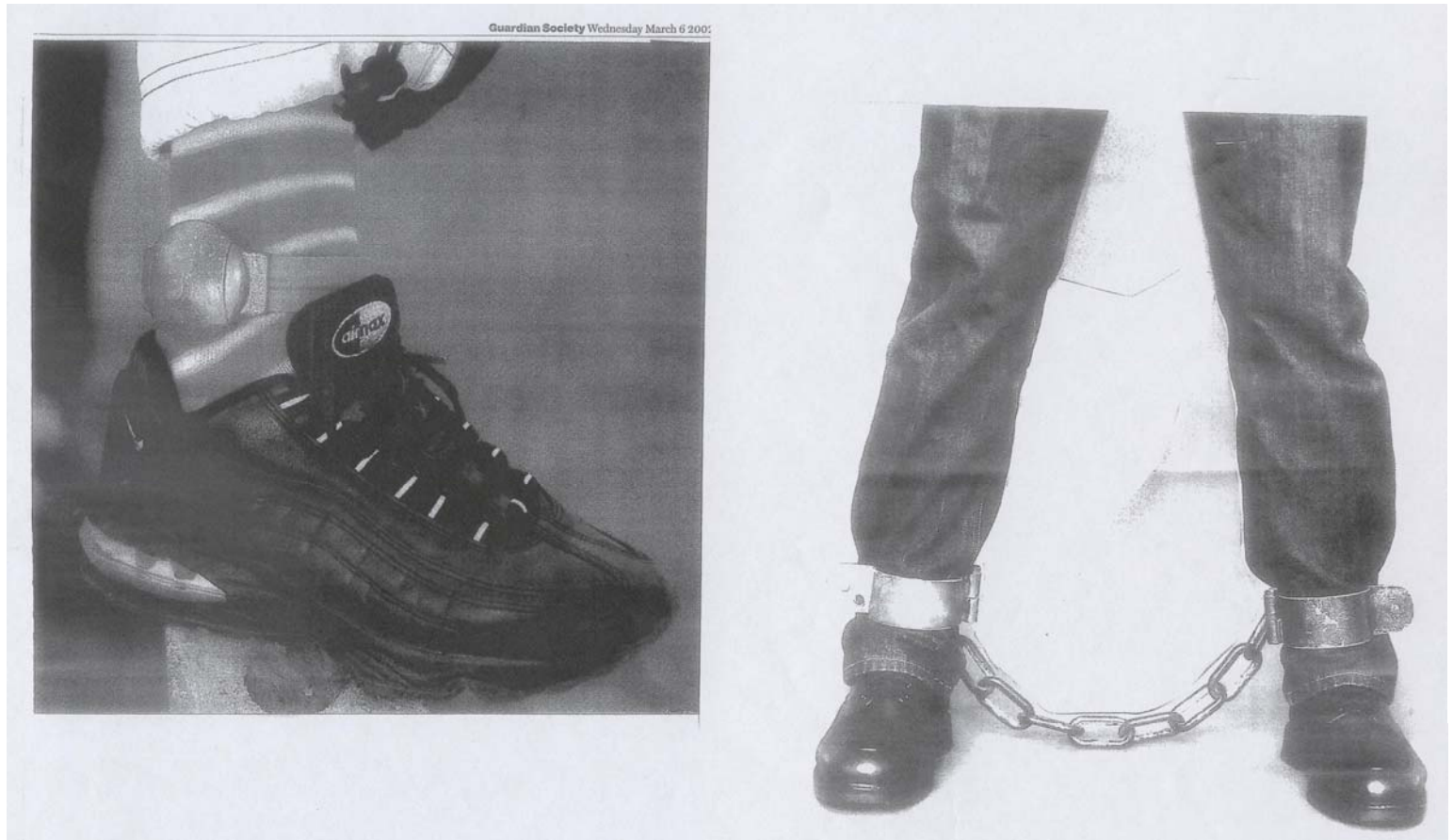
**JULY 21
MALIBU**

There is no business one cannot go about whilst wearing a tag

Thanks for the picture, Mr Gable



EM is not merely about
confinement, nor is it
incapacitative like prison !



Can EM be considered a type of surveillance, and is this OK?



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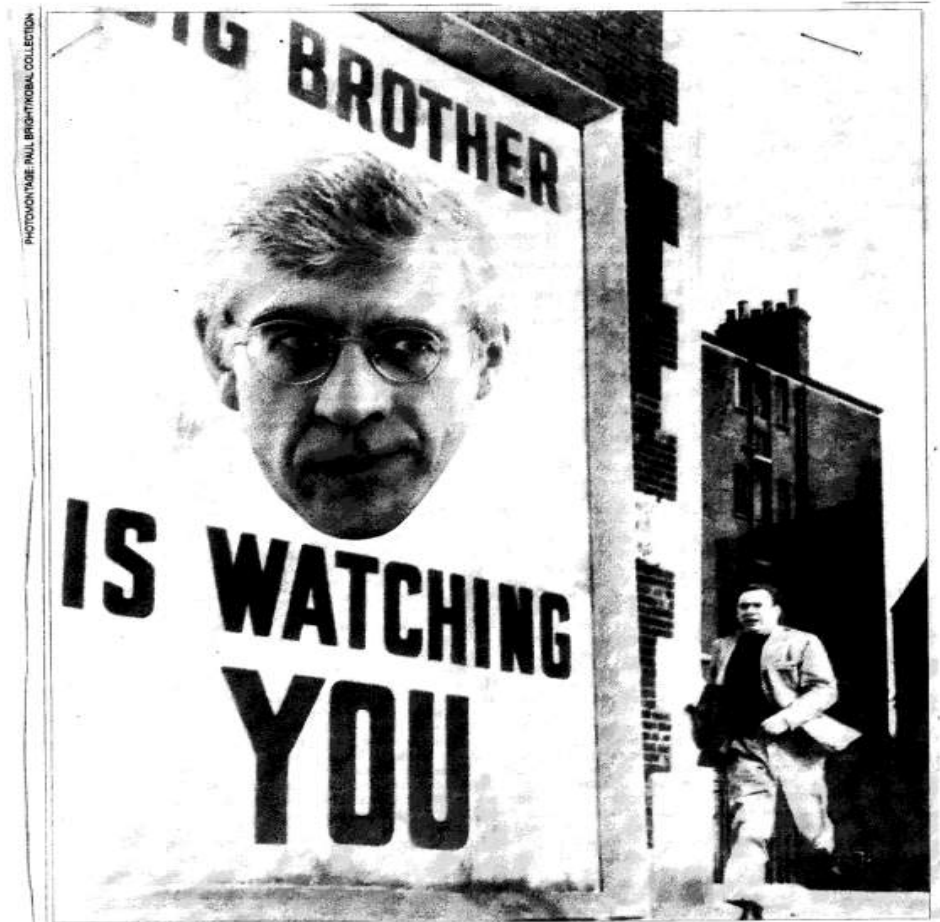




The spectre of
George Orwell's
“Nineteen Eighty
Four”

But
Partial surveillance
can be much less
intrusive than
imprisonment

.... and extreme
punitiveness in a
society militates
against use of EM



Conceptualising EM as Surveillance

- Surveillance - “gathering data in order to affect behaviour” - oversight of suspicious persons
- Remote location monitoring
 - NOT visual surveillance, not “seeing”
 - facilitates “economies of [penal] presence”
- Focus on the body ... more than the mind
- Compliance = (simply) presence/absence at designated location and time
- Not in itself inherently rehabilitative
 - internalisation of norms of law-abidingness/ long term personal change not required (or addressed)
- An “automated socio-technical system”

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EM - Surveillant Dimensions

(it's not just a technology)

- Social support systems for monitoring
- Requires “marking” the body with a tag
(except voice verification)
- Wearable tag creates potential for stigma
- Raises questions of (locational?) privacy
- Degree of spatial/temporal restrictiveness
- Collateral Impact on families and partners
- Actual subjective and behavioural responses – compliance, defiance or .. what?
explore actual thoughts, feelings & actions

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EM and Offender Compliance

TYPOLGY OF COMPLIANCE

Incentive-based compliance - gains and goods

- Trust-based compliance - via relationships/obligations
- Threat-based compliance - worse penalties
- Surveillance-based compliance - “clockwatching”

NB- these are not mutually exclusive

Incapacitation-based compliance - an oxymoron

- compliance requires choice and commitment.

Compliance is not enough; constructive change is better,

Even those normatively committed to change still have to demonstrate compliance with the EM rules.

Probation should pursue all forms of compliance.

Other views of EM ... it is lenient?

Austin

THE GUARDIAN 4th FEB 2002



EM is a trophy - not a deterrent?

Wednesday February 27 2002 Daily Express



EM - dangerous? inept?

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NICK NEWMAN'S Week

THE SUNDAY TIMES
24.3.02



Tuesday, July 4, 2000 **METRO** 3

Legless convict is caught in pub

A RELEASED prisoner managed to dodge a curfew – after security staff fixed an electronic tag to his false leg by mistake. Tony Higgins simply unscrewed the artificial limb and left it at home while he went to the pub. The 38-year-old was ordered to observe a 7pm to 7am curfew upon his release from Blakenhurst Prison in Redditch, Worcestershire.

An electronic transmitter was installed at his home to alert police by telephone if it failed to detect a signal from the tag on his body. However, a prison worker preparing Higgins for release had strapped the tag to his false leg. The oversight only came to light when Higgins's home phone was out of order. Police officers called at his house – and were told he had gone to his local to celebrate his freedom. The Home Office said the tag had now been tied to Higgins's other leg.

EM - technology is unreliable or vulnerable ?

THE DAILY EXPRESS 3rd SEPTEMBER 2004



EM - poor at crime reduction?

Daily Express Monday November 21 2005 27

By **Tom Whitehead**
Home Affairs Correspondent

Tagging fails to halt crime

RELEASING prisoners early with electronic tags does not help to cut reoffending, the Government was forced to admit yesterday.

Up to four freed prisoners a day commit another crime while under the home detention curfew programme.

Home Office figures revealed that 1,294 committed crimes last year. In 1999, when the scheme was introduced, 294 re-offended.

In total, 6,714 crimes have been committed, including 828 violent offences, 315 burglaries, 12 sex crimes, 85 robberies and 564 drug offences.

There have also been 1,669 cases of theft or handling stolen goods, 232 frauds and 1,670 motoring offences.

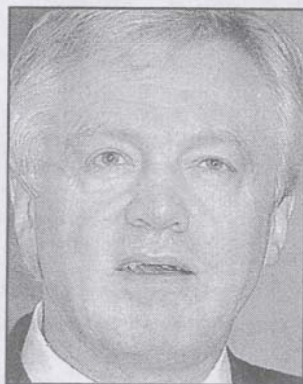
And critics warned that many more crimes go unsolved.

Shadow Home Secretary David Davis said: "Labour is freeing more and more prisoners knowing full well that more will reoffend.

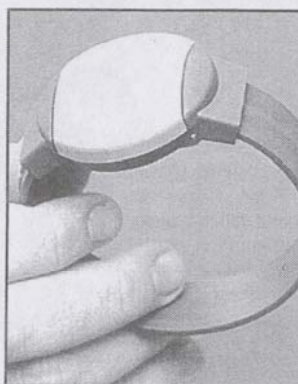
"It makes their long-term policy of letting criminals out on tags to free up prison capacity look all the more dangerous. It is nothing short of criminally irresponsible.

"The number of criminals let out of jail early is rising rapidly and, unsurprisingly, so is the number of crimes they then commit."

Liberal Democrat home



IT'S CRIMINAL: David Davis hit out at the overuse of tags, above



affairs spokesman Mark Oaten said: "The Government is increasingly using the tagging scheme as a pressure valve for the prison system instead of using it to cut offending."

Home detention curfew (HDC) sees prisoners released up to four and a half months early from their sentences and monitored at home, usually with tags.

Norman Brennan, of the

Victims of Crime Trust, said: "How many times does the Government have to fail to protect the public by introducing such flimsy measures before they wake up and smell the coffee?"

"The majority of these youngsters rate such tagging and home detention with contempt and see it as nothing more than an invitation to continue their offending."

Some 115,000 prisoners have been released early since the scheme started and around 3,200 offenders are on HDC at any one time - the equivalent of five or six medium-size prisons.

Home Secretary Charles Clarke came under fire after it emerged that he is considering extending the scheme and releasing inmates even earlier.

In one damning case, Peter Williams, 19, murdered Nottingham jeweller Marian Bates after being released early from prison.

He had ripped off his tag, ignored curfews and missed seven probation appointments.

The Home Office insisted the scheme was successful because those committing crimes account for only about five to six per cent of the total.

But a spokeswoman admitted: "The reoffending rate on HDC has increased over recent years.

"This is mainly due to the increase in the maximum curfew period from 60 days to 135 days."

EM - Global Expansion since 1990s

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Global Presence Review

Elmo-Tech systems are successfully implemented by most countries, which are operating home detention programs. Elmo-Tech offers a range of monitoring technologies and communication protocols, enabling administrations to design intensive supervision programmes in line with local criminal justice policies.

United States Projects

United States
Model: Early Release
Launched: 2000
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly operated by national prison service.
Eligibility: Offenders who have been part of an open prison environment for approximately 1 year, and who are eligible for parole within the next 2 years.
In Brief: Centrally managed from Madrid. Operated by 50 separate sites across the country.

Spain
Model: Short Sentence
Launched: 1994
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Primarily operated by Reliance, a Department of Justice licensed service provider.
Eligibility: Short Sentence of Liberty Order for up to 6 years, in conjunction with a positive social report and offender's consent.
In Brief: Successful piloting in 6 courts resulted in the roll-out of restriction of Liberty Orders to all Scottish courts. Pilots demonstrated an over 60% cost saving compared to an equal period prison sentence.

France
Model: Short Sentence
Launched: 2000
Status: Pilot
Operation: Publicly operated by the Ministry of Justice local prison services.
Eligibility: Sentences of up to 12 months.
Overview: Running a number of regional independent pilot schemes. Aiming to broaden implementation to a full scale program in 2005.

Scotland
Model: Short Sentence, Early Release
Launched: 1995
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly operated by the National Agency of Correctional Institutions.
Eligibility: Prison sentences of up to 3 months or the last 6 months of a long sentence in conjunction with a rehabilitation program.
In Brief: Funded nationwide in 1999. By 2002 replaced technology infrastructure, leaving it an Elmo-Tech platform. Program is individually tailored to ease social re-integration. Reports include low failure to re-offending rates. Recently added the short sentence replacement program to free cell capacity.

England
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The Netherlands
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Prisoner Tracking in Correctional Facilities
Model: Short Sentence, Early Release
Launched: 1994
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly operated by the Prison and Probation Administrative Service.
Eligibility: Sentences of up to 3 months or the last 4 months of a sentence of 2 years or more.
In Brief: Employing a centrally controlled distributed monitoring, over WAN configuration, combining GSM mobile units. Program accounts for 60% of all applicable sentences, reported to effectively enable control alongside treatment.

Sweden
Model: Short Sentence, Early Release
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In Brief: Employing a centrally controlled distributed monitoring, over WAN configuration, combining GSM mobile units. Program accounts for 60% of all applicable sentences, reported to effectively enable control alongside treatment.

Germany
Model: Short Sentence
Launched: 2000
Status: Pilot
Operation: Jointly operated by Hessen's Data Processing Agency & local probation services.
Eligibility: Suspended Sentences.
In Brief: Operators reports very positive results in minimising recidivism, intensification of probation staff authority and support of all judicial authorities.

Belgium
Model: Early Release
Launched: 2000
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Operated by the National Electronic Surveillance Center which performs the monitoring and a service provider responsible for the field work.
Eligibility: The last 6 months of any sentence, specific offences excluded.
In Brief: The program aims to achieve reduction of recidivism, lower the negative effects of imprisonment, tighten offenders' social ties and enhance rehabilitation prospects.

New Zealand
Model: Home Detention
Launched: 1999
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Privately operated by Chubb New Zealand for the Department of Corrections.
Eligibility: Offenders who served at least half of a maximum 2 years imprisonment sentence for minor offences.
In Brief: Have been gradually increasing use of Elmo-Tech's cellular communication units, taking advantages of their operational benefits.

Italy
Model: Pre-Trial, Monitored Home Detention
Launched: 2001
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Operated by Telecom Italia on behalf of the Italian Ministry of Interior.
Eligibility: Offenders who were sentenced to house arrest as an alternative to imprisonment.
In Brief: In Brief: Aiming to ease prison overcrowding, which in 2004 reached 135%.

Australia
Model: Home Detention & Work Release
Launched: 1998
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly operated by the Department of Corrections for New South Wales, Australian Capital Territory and Tasmania.
Eligibility: Varies per state. In New South Wales, work release program forms the back-end of a prison sentence, specific offences excluded. Work placement must be secured prior to release.
In Brief: During 2004, upgraded system to Elmo-Tech's new E3 platform. In the work release programs, offenders sleep in jail and work outside it. Gateway monitoring unit serves as a confirmation for manual register. GSM based monitoring units are placed in key public locations such as railway stations. Local monitoring units in permanent work places and hand held mobile monitoring units complete this unique monitoring network.

Hong Kong
Model: Prisoner Tracking
Launched: Mid-2003
Operation: Contracted services requirement.
In Brief: Elmo-Tech system is applied in a contractual sentence.
Eligibility: The last 6 months of a contractual sentence.
In Brief: In mid 2004 the scheme registered a record 99.3% success rate, reducing the Home Affairs Ministry to declare intentions to significantly expand its use.

Singapore
Model: Early Release
Launched: 1997
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Privately operated by Cico (Commercial & Industrial Security Co.), a Government licensed service provider.
Eligibility: The last 6 months of a contractual sentence.
In Brief: In mid 2004 the scheme registered a record 99.3% success rate, reducing the Home Affairs Ministry to declare intentions to significantly expand its use.

Asia Pacific Projects

Hong Kong

Singapore

Australia

New Zealand

Argentina
Model: Pre-Trial
Launched: 2002
Operation: Operated by General Industries, a government licensed service provider.
In Brief: Aim to ease overcrowding of detainees awaiting trial in correction facilities and police stations.

Mexico
Model: Early Release
Launched: 2003
Operation: Contracted services requirement.
In Brief: Used to alleviate prison overcrowding. Monitored offenders are required to pay for the program.

Autonomous Government of Catalonia
Model: Early Release
Launched: 2000
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly operated by prison service.
Eligibility: Final part of a night-time only prison sentence and as part of an individual treatment program.
In Brief: Aimed to develop a new measure in accordance with existing penal law and assess potential for future programs. During 2004, introduced voice verification and added upgraded E3 4F monitoring units.

Portugal
Model: Pre-Trial
Launched: 2002
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Publicly managed by national probation service in cooperation with a local licensed service provider for the Lisbon & Porto areas.
Eligibility: Pre-trial status detainees, pending probation service approval & court judge orders.
In Brief: 3 year pilot completed successfully. A new national program aims to considerably expand use of electronic monitoring.

United States
Model: All types
Launched: 1993. Use widely spread during 1990s. Elmo-Tech 4F presence monitoring, remote alcohol monitoring, voice verification and prisoner's tracking systems employed since 1997.
Status: Full Scale
Operation: Privately operated by specialist service providers, primarily ADT Security Services, Inc., servicing over 40 state and local accounts.
Eligibility: Varies per state.
In Brief: Core's originator and world most experienced user.

Elmo-Tech Alcohol Monitoring
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GPS Offender Tracking
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European Projects

United States
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Policy Rationales for the Expansion of EM?

- Reduce prison numbers and costs
- Improve/toughen community supervision
(bail, sentence and post- release)
- “Modernisation” of public policy/state esp
- Disillusion with “anachronistic” probation
- Growth of (post 9/11?) “surveillance culture”
- Research - high compliance whilst on EM
- Policy transfer/Transnational showcasing
- The growing ICT infrastructure changes social possibilities for crime controllers

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GPS/GSM Satellite Tracking

wide use in USA
since 1997

English pilot
2004-06

used in France
& Netherlands

STAR

Satellite Tracking and Reporting System

ElmoTech LTD.
ELECTRONIC MONITORING TECHNOLOGIES

Superior Technology Law Enforcement Solutions

STAR

Satellite Tracking and Reporting System
Incorporating
Pioneering Secondary Location Capabilities

A New Level of Monitoring

Elmo-Tech's STAR system takes monitoring outdoors, enabling programs operators to monitor individuals beyond the limits of set locations. The system also maintains full home detention presence monitoring capabilities while monitored subject are at home.

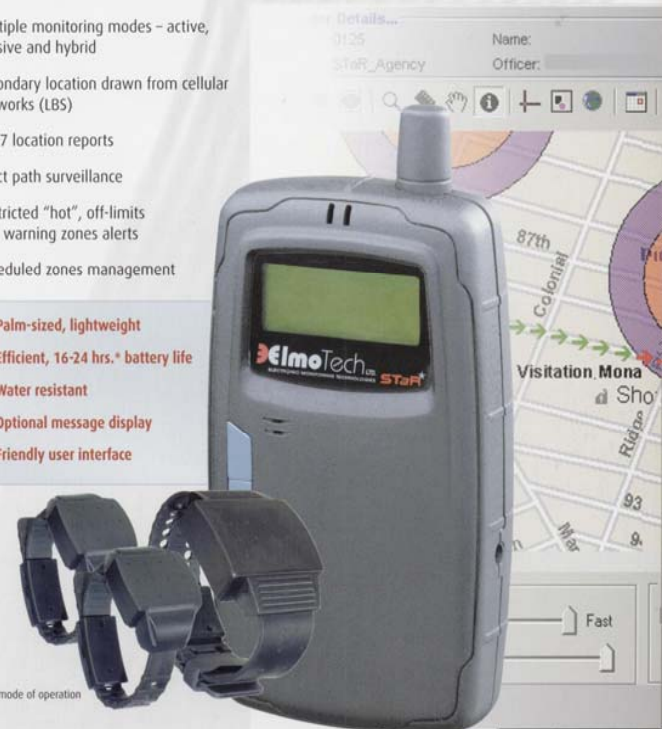
Elmo-Tech's STAR system is based on highly advanced global positioning satellite (GPS), RF and cellular communication technology components, introducing exclusive market leading technology features.

The STAR system was designed to meet the comprehensive security and financial requirements of operators in the Law Enforcement and Corrections industries, and enable them to keep an effective balance between the two.

- ▶ Multiple monitoring modes – active, passive and hybrid
- ▶ Secondary location drawn from cellular networks (LBS)
- ▶ 24/7 location reports
- ▶ Exact path surveillance
- ▶ Restricted "hot", off-limits and warning zones alerts
- ▶ Scheduled zones management

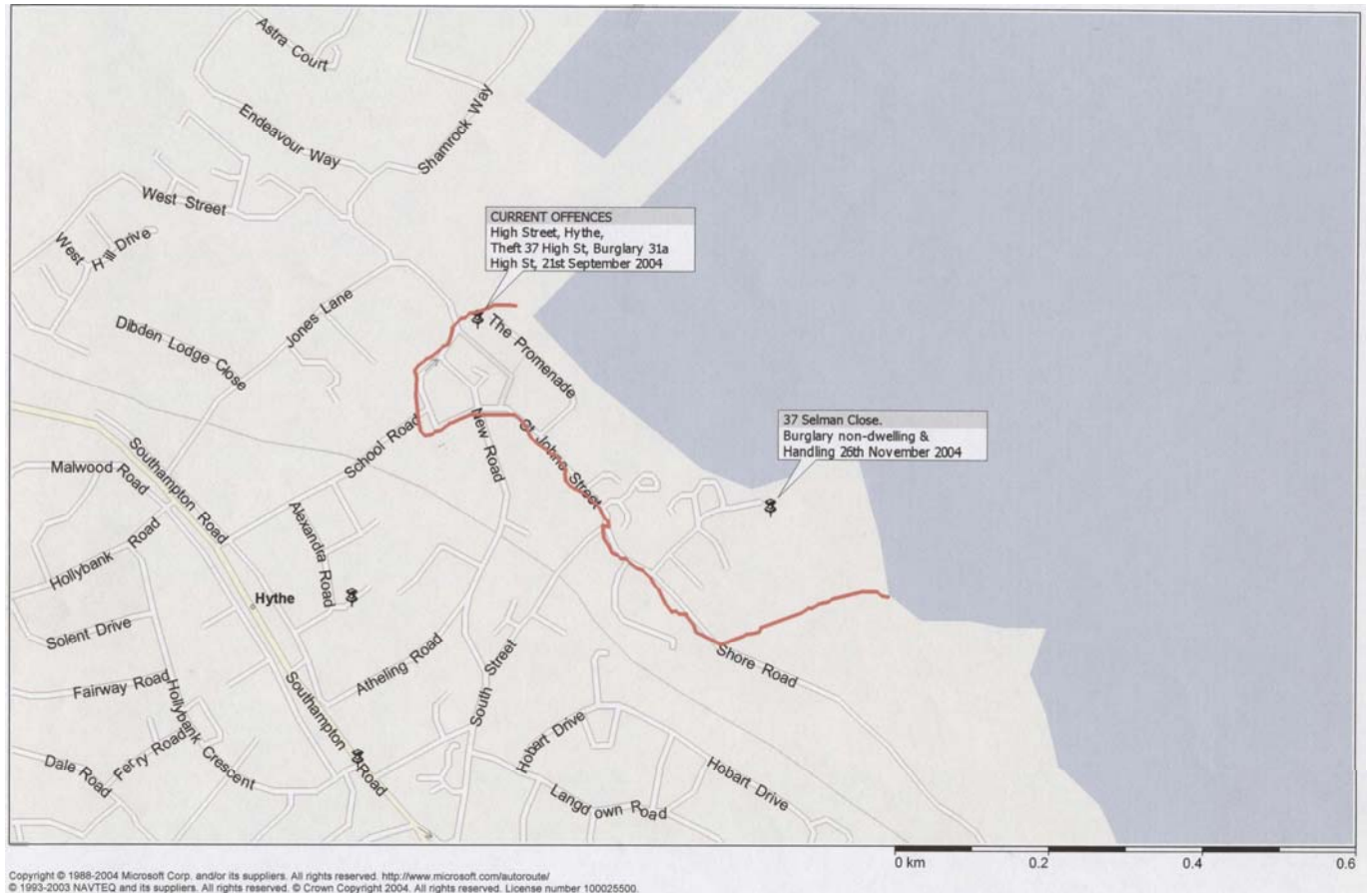
- ▶ Palm-sized, lightweight
- ▶ Efficient, 16-24 hrs.* battery life
- ▶ Water resistant
- ▶ Optional message display
- ▶ Friendly user interface

* Pending mode of operation



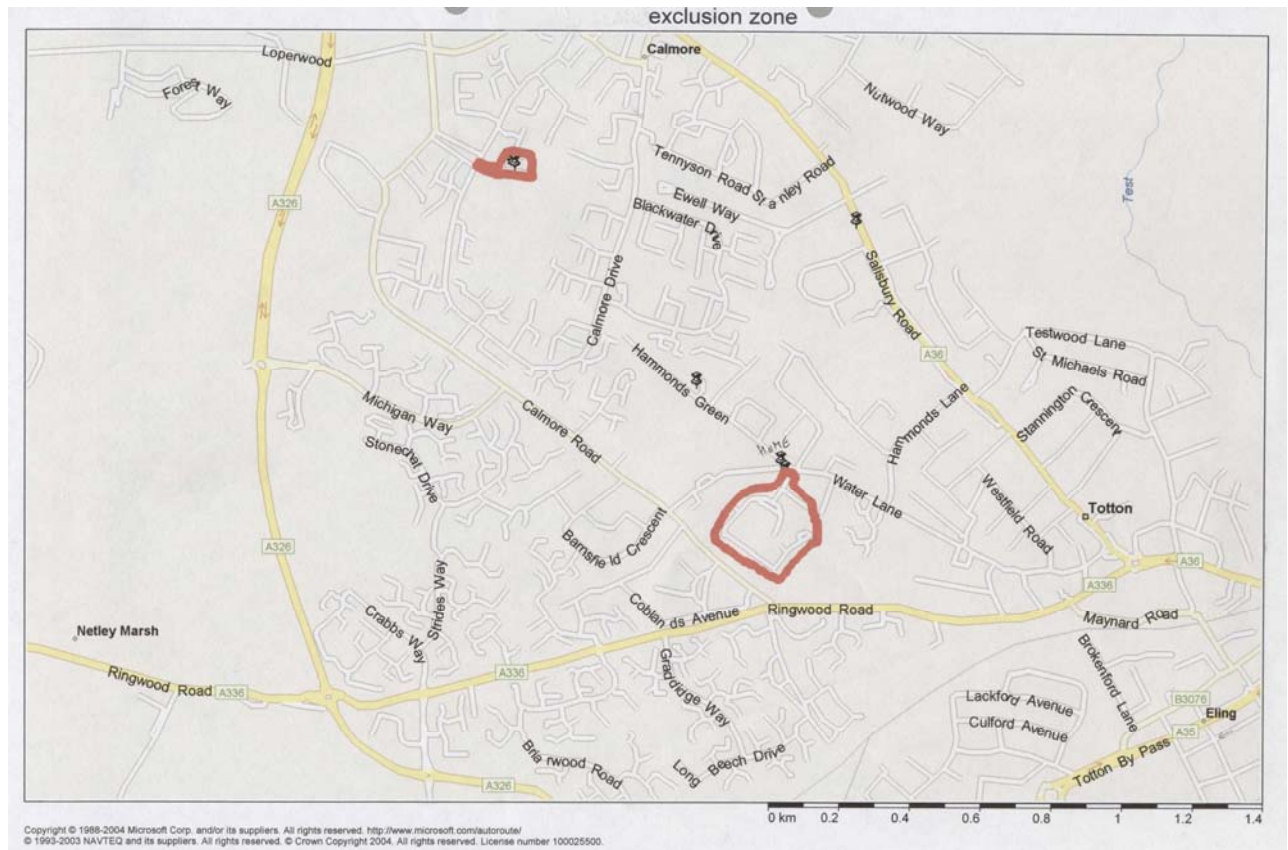
From: 04/09/2004 13:2

Retrospective, "Real-time" (Continuous) and Hybrid Tracking



Creating Exclusion Zones

protecting victims ..and punishment



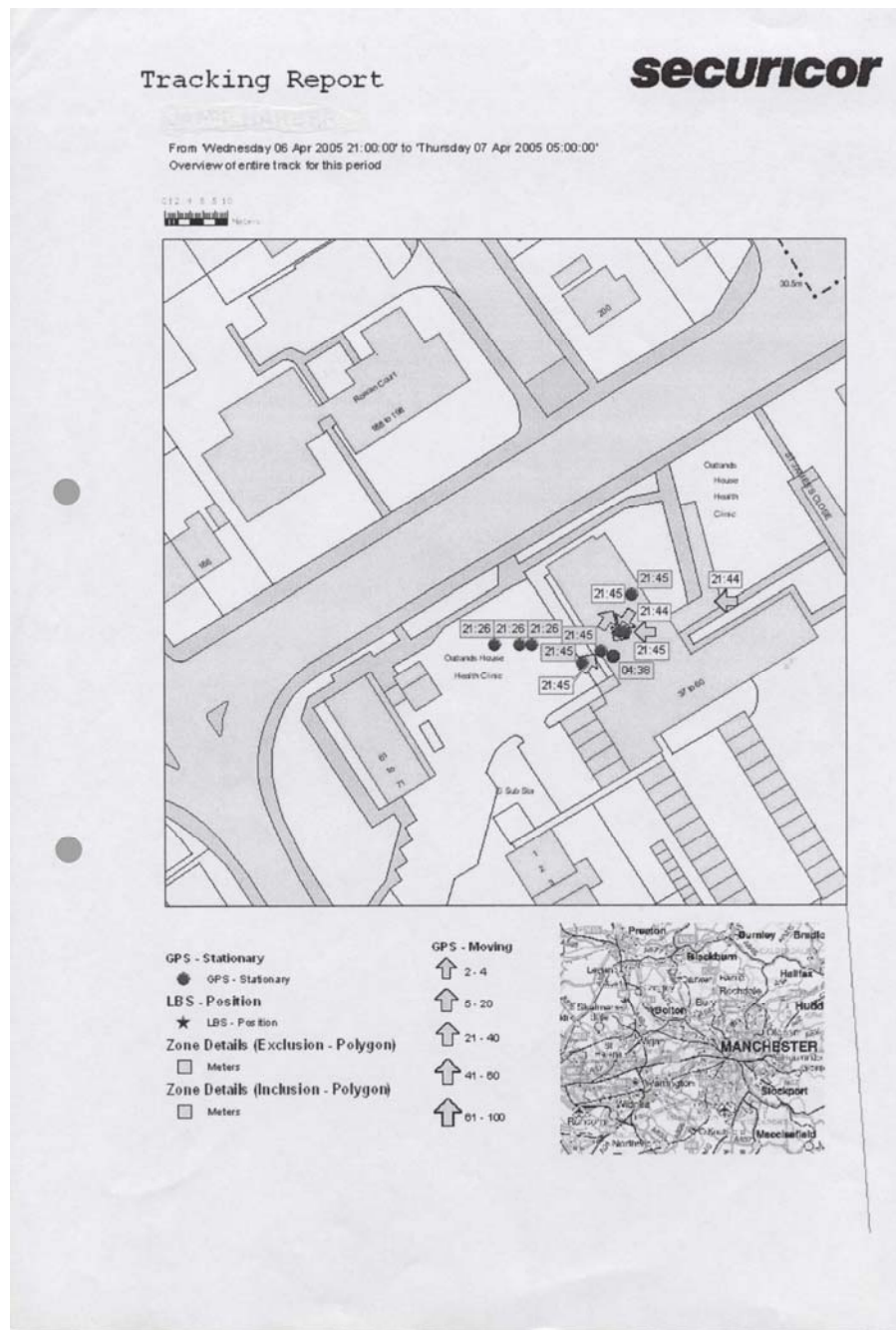
Exclusion Zones

size and police response times



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- Variable scale printouts
- Give offenders maps - show them where they have been
- CrimeTrax in Florida - links offender locations to crime scenes



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- “Pitching” EM/tracking

Monitoring in
“Real time”
= better than
probation?

Control is only
real if it is
“here and
now” /live

EM makes
offenders
“telepresent”

Do you know your offenders are compliant when they're away from home?

We check every 10 seconds!

iSECUREtrac GPS systems offer you the truth. You can hold your offenders accountable to the places they've been and the times they've been there, 24/7/365, anywhere in the world. Additionally, GPS tracking systems can greatly increase your level of offender supervision without adding to officer workload. **iSECUREtrac alone can provide you with:**

- Location and compliance verification every 10 seconds
- Fastest violation reporting on the market
- User-friendly, yet powerful, web-based software
- Proven GPS policies and best practices for agencies

For more information or to request an on-site demo, please call 866.537.0022 or visit www.isecuretrac.com

 **iSECUREtrac**
GPS OFFENDER MONITORING

Lifelong Tracking in California? (and other states)



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EM - Fears and Anxieties

POLITICAL

- A “thin end of the wedge” technology
- Fear of “overcontrol” - Orwell’s 1984
- Fear of “undercontrol” - no crime reduction

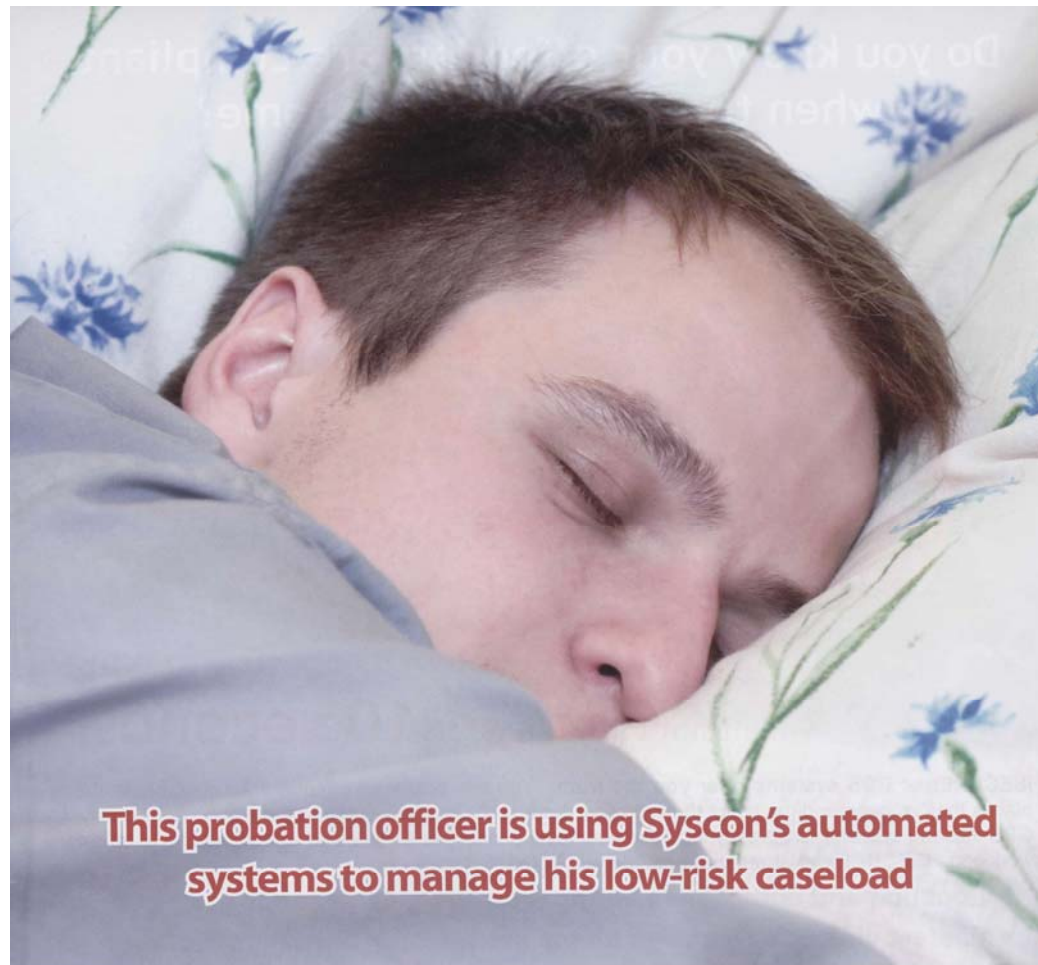
PRACTICAL

- Costs less than prison, but still expensive
- Diverts resources from rehabilitation to surveillance?
- The complex ethics of surveillance
- Private sector involvement

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- Technology might displace social work rather than augment it ..
- ... if we let it.
- The political and professional challenge is to embed EM in rehabilitation.



This probation officer is using Syscon's automated systems to manage his low-risk caseload

With a range of kiosk, voice recognition, and GPS technologies handling report-ins, the collection of fines, fees and restitution, and secure monitoring—all wrapped up in a fully integrated system. Only Syscon can offer you the full-service package from end to end. It is no wonder he sleeps easy!



www.syscon.net/ems
1.888.797.2662

- Is EM a harbinger of worse technological developments?

shift from (mere?)
location monitoring
to behavioural
control?

Technocorrections
of some sort are
inevitable in the
21st century:
probation -
get used to it



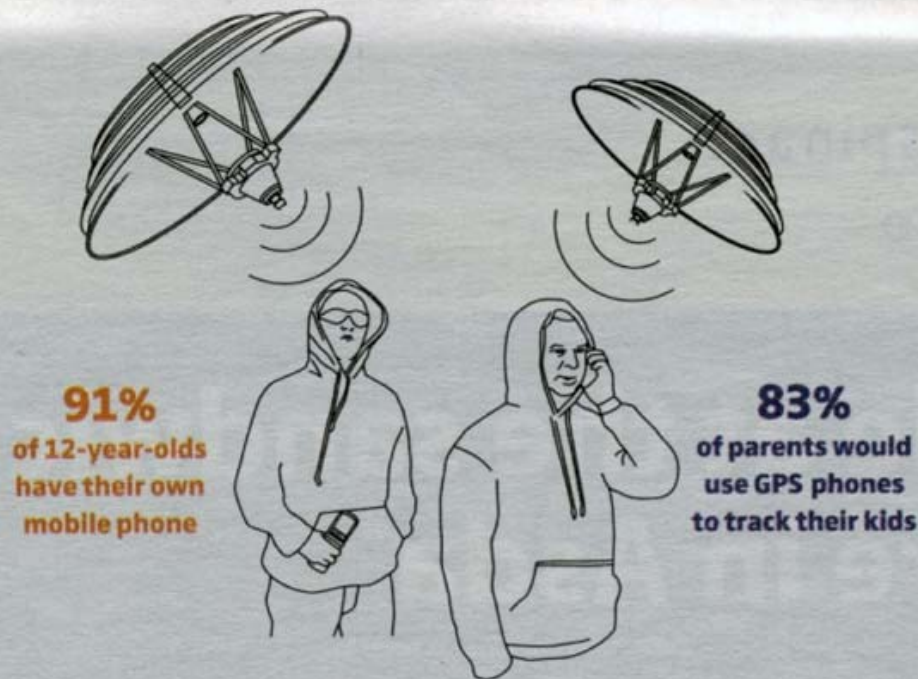
Normalising Locatability and Pinpointing in the Community

.... so how punitive is EM?

Go figure

Mobile surveillance

We all know that teens love their mobile phones – an astonishing **91 per cent of 12-year-olds** have one. But mums and dads might have an ulterior motive in letting their kids get connected: **83 per cent of parents** whose children own mobiles say that they would happily use a GPS tracking device on kids' handsets to keep tabs on their offspring. Source: Carphone Warehouse



THE INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY • 5 NOVEMBER 2006



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The Achievements of EM

- The technology is improving
- Its present forms are not overcontrolling
- The private sector is able and willing to engage in constructive dialogue
- EM's development can be shaped and constrained by policymakers
- EM adds valuable forms and degrees of control that probation cannot achieve alone
- It is not incompatible with rehabilitation
- It has reduced prison use/ time in prison for many offenders
- We have learned to be modest about EM - but its full potential is not yet maximised

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The Possible Futures of EM

- Pain inflicting tags may be developed - but will discredit the EM cause - it will make people more alarmed by it?
- Implant Tags - RFID chips? Verichip?
- For location monitoring or behaviour control .. or both?
- Normalisation of EM in criminal justice - but at (too) high cost?
- Diversification of existing EM technologies and of “target groups” :
 - Asylum seekers Terror suspects
 - Telecare for old, ill and disabled

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The Probable Futures of EM

- ICT infrastructure will not go away - politicians and crime controllers have new control options.
- Social work will have to continually prove itself.
- Technology will become smaller and cheaper.
- Modernising ideology makes EM attractive, probation anachronistic.
- Prison remains costly and often damaging - but its use will probably NOT decline massively
- Public demands for protection will not diminish
- Police will show interest in managing EM.
- Research will make some difference, especially regarding costs and aggregate crime reduction effects.
- For/against attitudes to private sector will play a part.
- Europe may not copy USA, eg with satellite tracking

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The Preferable Futures of EM

- All five EM types have their uses - but use sparingly and subordinate them to humanistic values - no "technical fix"
- Politically this may be easier said than done - but, record shows, not impossible!
- Embed EM in rehabilitative programmes
- Acknowledge that most offenders prefer (existing) curfews to prison
- Don't seek or even expect perfect /total control - and beware its champions!
- Do keep seeking ways of reducing the use of custody
- Do not devalue the public sector

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The End

Thank you